

Message Text

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44

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAJ-01 NIC-01 ACDA-19 IO-14 SAM-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 DRC-01 /138 W

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R 270813Z SEP 74 ZDK

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2871

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USMISSION USUN

AMEMBASSY ARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 14606

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CY, GR, TU, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET VIEWS ON CYPRUS FOLLOWING THE ILICHEV VISIT

1. SUMMARY. RECENT DIPLOMATIC SOUNDINGS HERE, AS WELL AS BREZHNEV'S SEPTEMBER 25 REMARKS ON CYPRUS, PROVIDE FURTHER CORROBORATION THAT THE ILICHEV VISIT TO TURKEY, GREECE, AND CYPRUS DID LITTLE TO CHANGE EITHER THE CYPRUS SITUATION OR THE SOVIET APPROACH TO THE ISSUE. WHILE THE SOVIETS ARE STILL FLOGGING THEIR AUGUST 22 PROPOSAL (THOUGH SOMEWHAT HALF-HEARTEDLY, AS IN BREZHNEV'S COMMENTS), THEY ALSO SEEM TO BE INTERESTED IN THE POSSIBILITIES OFFERED BY A UNGA DEBATE. THEY ACCEPT SOME FORM OF FEDERATED SOLUTION, BUT CONTINUE TO BE
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NERVOUS ABOUT PARTITION. THEY SEEM TO BE RETURNING TO

A MORE OVERT EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF MARKARIOS.
END SUMMARY.

2. BRITISH AMBASSADOR GARVEY CALLED ON DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER N. N. RODIONOV SEPTEMBER 20 TO SOUND OUT THE SOVIETS FOLLOWING ILCHEV'S VISIT. (THE BRITISH WERE TOLD THAT RODIONOV IS THE DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER HANDLING CYPRUS; SINCE HIS NORMAL BEAT IS EASTERN EUROPE, WE ARE NOT SURE WHETHER CYPRUS IS A PERMANENT OR A CRISIS-RELATED ASSIGNMENT.) RODIONOV TOLD GRAVEY THAT ILCHEV'S MISSION HAD BEEN PURELY EXPLORATORY AND THAT ILCHEV NEITHER PLAYED NOR SOUGHT A ROLE AS AN INTERMEDIARY. FOLLOWING HIS ANKARA AND ATHENS STOPS, ILCHEV CABLED MOSCOW THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO SHIFT IN THE TURKISH OR GREEK POSITIONS.

3. RODIONOV ASSERTED THAT THE MAIN PROBLEM REMAINS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 353. A GENEVA-TYPE FORUM IS FRUITLESS. OTHER APPROACHES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED, INCLUDING DISCUSSION IN THE UNGA WHICH COULD BE HELPFUL. NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES WILL NOT BRING A RAPID SETTLEMENT, THOUGH THE USSR ENVISAGES A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES AS PART OF AN OVERALL PROCESS. RODIONOV DEFENDED THE SOVIET PROPOSAL ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT WOULD HELP TO CREATE THE INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS AND ATMOSPHERE FOR A SOLUTION.

4. ACCORDING TO RODIONOV, A FEDERAL SOLUTION IS POSSIBLE, BUT THE ISLAND AND THE STATE SHOULD NOT BE DIVIDED. FEDERATION SHOULD NOT BE SIMPLY A DISGUISED FORM OF PARTITION, AND IT SHOULD NOT BE CARRIED OUT AT THE COST OF MOVING LARGE ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION.

5. RODIONOV SAID THAT A SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM CAN BE FOUND THROUGH MAKARIOS. HE IS A GENUINE INTERNATIONAL FIGURE WHO CAN INFLUENCE EVENTS ON THE ISLAND. EVEN THE TURKS SEE HIM AS A FIGURE WITH WHOM ONE CAN DEAL. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS MAKARIOS AS THE LEGAL PRESIDENT; CLERIDES ON THE OTHER HAND IS MERELY CONFIDENTIAL

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THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GREEK COMMUNITY.

6. RODIONOV SAID THAT ALL FOREIGN FORCES SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN; HE SPECIFIED GREEK AND TURKISH, BUT NOT BRITISH, FORCES. IN VIEW OF THE DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED GREEK AND TURKISH POSITIONS, HE SAID THAT THE SITUATION WOULD REMAIN COMPLEX FOR A LONG TIME. IN THE BRITISH VIEW, HE SEEMED RECONCILED TO THE PROBLEM CONTINUING FOR

SOME TIME.

7. GERMAN AMBASSADOR SAHM QUOTED A REPORT FROM THE FRG EMBASSY IN NICOSIA, BASED ON A TALK WITH A GREEK CYPRIOT IN THE GOVERNMENT. ACCORDING TO THE SOURCE, THE ILICHEV VISIT WAS A GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT TO CLERIDES. NOTHING CONCRETE CAME OUT OF IT. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE SOVIETS WERE UNWILLING TO PUT ANY PRESSURE ON TURKEY; ON THE CONTRARY, THE SOURCE FELT THAT THEY WERE DOING EVERYTHING THEY COULD TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH ANKARA. THE SOURCE CALLED THE SOVIET PROPOSAL "JUST A GIMMICK." AKEL HAS MADE GREAT USE OF ITS VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION; IT HAS TAKEN THE LINE THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS A REAL FRIEND, A LINE THE CLERIDES GOVERNMENT (ACCORDING TO THE SOURCE) HAS DONE NOTHING TO OPPOSE. THE GOVERNMENT WAS SURPRISED AT THE ENORMOUS RECEPTION AKEL ORGANIZED FOR ILICHEV'S ARRIVAL.

8. COMMENT. BREZHNEV'S DEVOTION OF SUCH A LARGE PART OF HIS KADAR WELCOMING TOAST TO CYPRUS HAS OCCASIONED COMMENT AMONG DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES HERE, PARTICULARLY SINCE HE SAID NOTHING NEW. THE OCCASION WAS A RATHER INAPPROPRIATE ONE, BUT BREZHNEV HAS NOT HAD A FOREIGN POLICY PLATFORM FOR TWO MONTHS (THOUGH HE COULD HAVE USED THE OCCASION IN NOVOROSSISK EARLIER THIS MONTH). THE BRITISH INCLINE TO THE BELIEF THAT THE AIM WAS TO GENERATE SOME QUOTES THAT THE SOVIETS CAN NOW USE IN THE UNGA AND OTHER FORUMS. RODIONOV'S COMMENTS (AS WELL AS BREZHNEV'S GENERAL REFERENCE TO THE "UN FRAMEWORK" RATHER THAN TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL SPECIFICALLY) INDEED SUGGEST THAT THE SOVIETS MAY BE PREPARING TO PLAY A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN THE UNGA DEBATE ON CYPRUS.

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